

PEACE NEWS

No. 510 March 22, 1946 2d.

"NO ATOMIC WAR"

Faith must be renewed

- CENTRAL HALL MEETING AGREES

The challenge of the atom bomb can only be met at the religious level, as it is the manifestation of the whole trend of our civilization. The only solution is a revolution in man's attitude to the situation. The deepest need is for a recovery of faith.

THIS WAS THE GENERAL OPINION EXPRESSED AT A MEETING AT THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, ON SATURDAY, TO APPEAL FOR "NO ATOMIC WAR," AT WHICH DISTINGUISHED PACIFISTS FROM ENGLAND AND ABROAD SPOKE.

Reginald Reynolds concluded that we shall not attain spiritual health until we give up studying the symptoms of spiritual disease. Instead we should study the conditions of spiritual fertility, in which alone health of the spirit can be maintained, thus ensuring social and political health.

Prof. Norman Whitney (America) agreed that there is no answer to the atomic bomb but in the individual conscience. Peace, the word, must be made flesh if it were to dwell among men. It must be embodied in human personality.

We have finished

The practical thing for this country to do at this moment, said Dr. Alex Wood (Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union), is to say that, so far as the military use of atomic energy is concerned, we have finished, and that as an earnest of good faith are prepared to let any international commission appointed by the United Nations have access to our laboratories and research centres. He believed this would be an enormous relief to the consciences of a vast number of people outside the narrow pacifist circle.

He wanted to see that public opinion tested, and he hoped that one of the immediate objectives of the pacifist movement would be to persuade the general public that the realistic reply to the present challenge is the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

James Hudson, M.P., urged that one of the first tasks we must accomplish here in this country is to persuade our own people to organize production on the basis of the welfare of human beings.

Dr. J. B. Th. Hugenholtz (Holland) described the inwardness of the pacifist experience under occupation.

Canon C. E. Raven called for an acknowledgment of personal failures and a rededication to the task of offering to the world Christian "Faith, Hope and Charity." The meeting closed with the Lord's Prayer.

Dr. Donald Soper presided.

"DEMOCRATS ALL"

ALL good convinced democrats, and that includes we believe all of us members of the PPU and readers of Peace News, must take an interest in the working of democratic institutions. After a long blank in the exercise of democratic franchise methods resulting from six years of war, the experience of once again participating in a series of elections has been exhilarating.

We owe the blessings of democracy in part at least to circumstances for which the British people can take no special credit. "We are in an Island," wrote Pepys, "not as a penalty but as a grace." And Shakespeare—

"This fortress built by nature for herself Against infection and the hand of war . . . This precious stone set in the silver sea Which serves it in the office of a wall, Or as a moat defensive to a house Against the envy of less happy lands; This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England."

We must cherish all the more these privileges because they are a grace withheld from many

Should we still seek a unified Germany?

THE GRIM CHALLENGE OF RUSSIAN POLICY

STALIN'S reply to Churchill was not of a kind to increase the esteem in which the Russian leader is held by rational people. But probably it was good enough for the irrational. One even wonders what proportion of the men in the street would see the catch in Stalin's remarkable argument that Britain was not a democracy because under the Labour government Churchill is excluded from power.

However, we hope that most of those who might not be able to prove its imbecility, feel that it is imbecile. Perhaps a more interesting question is whether Stalin himself believes it. It is hard to suppose he does.

But these radio hostilities are not of supreme importance. Churchill's proposal to USA has been declined, as everybody knew it would be—including Churchill himself. But Persia remains a reality for Britain, and Manchuria for USA. There is complete deadlock. And how can UNO survive the raising of the Persian problem, and the application of the veto by Russia?

National Communism

OWING partly to a realization of the serious political consequences of the reduction of rations in the British zone, partly to the unconcealed efforts of the Russians to establish a single, Communist-led, workers' party in the Russian zone, there has been a perceptible shift of responsible opinion in this country. It is moving away from the idea of a united Germany.

It is felt that a united Germany, possessing only the insufficient means of subsistence allowed her by the Russian interpretation of the Potsdam agreement, would quickly succumb to a nationalist Communism. There would be a mass-transfer from Communism to Nazism immediately before the Hitler triumph. As Mr. G. D. H. Cole says: "National Communism . . . may turn out in the long run to bear a dangerous resemblance to the National Socialism of the years before 1933." (New Statesman, March 16.)

The recurrent zig-zag

IN order to understand the situation and the danger, it is necessary to realize that Russian Communism is more bitterly opposed to Social Democracy than it is to Capitalism itself. Why it should be so hard for British Socialists to get this into their heads, after the long years in which the Communists everywhere denounced and intrigued against the Social Democrats as "Social Fascists," it is not easy to say. In our domestic politics the leaders of the Labour Party show themselves acutely aware of the fundamental incompatibility between the Labour Party and the Communist Party; and probably it is their habit of thinking of British domestic policies in complete isolation from the politics of the continent which prevents them from seeing, with equal clarity, the fundamental incompatibility between Communist Russia and a country, like Britain, where Social Democracy is in power.

We lack the ideological clarity of the rulers of Russia; and a very large number of democratic Socialists are regularly taken in whenever the Communist party-line zig-zags towards a "common front." But, in fact, Communist tactics always follow the same pattern on the national and the international

Observer's Commentary

national scale. The "common front" is always purely opportunist. There was a "common front" on the grand scale between Russia and Britain until Germany was defeated. Now, the more serious business is resumed. Russia and all its satellite Communist parties turn to the job of defeating Britain—as the main bulwark of Social Democracy—everywhere in the West.

No time for cricket

IT is all very unsporting. To turn on an ally as soon as the war is over isn't cricket. But it really is time Englishmen got it out of their heads that what isn't cricket isn't real. The Russians don't play cricket. They work for world-revolution. And they are convinced that Social Democracy is a greater obstacle than Capitalism to world-revolution. Capitalism is the enemy of world-revolution, it is true; but Social Democracy, were it successful, would make world-revolution unnecessary—indeed, retrogressive.

For revolution (in the accepted sense of violent revolution) is always a second best. It is eloquent of the decline of progressive thought in the West that it has developed more than a tendency to think of revolution, in itself, as a good thing—almost the *summum bonum*. In practice, thank God, in Britain we still behave as though revolutionary violence were the horrible thing it is.

But the thought of British Socialists is, very often, much more lawless than their acts. And the few who believe, and say, that an inch of advance won by peaceful consent is better than

DESCENT INTO THE ATOM

MANY of the scientific men that worked to produce the atomic bomb have recently expressed horror at the use to which it was put. The sentiment does credit to their humanity but not to their intelligence. Considering the decline in moral sense that had already taken place during the war, how could they have expected any restraint at all in its use? There was a time when, in contrast to the indiscriminate bombing undertaken by Germany, our bombing was claimed to be directed only against military objectives. From that to "obliteration bombing" was a fall to which the greater obliteration of the atomic bomb was only a natural corollary. Facilis desensus Averno. Once a war has begun every principle has, if necessary, to be sacrificed to winning it.

The atomic bomb is in essence atomic energy out of control, and humanity is being lulled to sleep by the many predictions made of the wonderful results that will accrue when scientific men have discovered how the energy can be tamed. But, comparatively speaking, that is a simple matter. The real significance of the atomic bomb is the inescapable confirmatory evidence it provides that war represents humanity out of control; the real problem it poses is not one to which physicists qua physicists have anything to say.

G. A. SUTHERLAND.
Letter in the Manchester Guardian, March 18.

a yard won by violent revolution, are looked upon askance as polite reactionaries. Yet that is the truth. For the inch of peaceful advance is won for ever; but the revolutionary lurch is essentially impermanent. It has to be defended by more violence, until violence becomes a system of government.

No withering yet

THAT is now the issue between Communism and Social Democracy. It is no longer the issue between violence and non-violence.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

No Place for UNO!

IT has been "noised abroad" in pacifist circles for some time that the only practical way of preventing atomic war is by lending the full weight of our support to UNO.

After the last war many COs gave devoted service to the League of Nations Union and must now be regretting those wasted years.

We have, say the practical, anything between ten and thirty years before the outbreak of atomic war—any assumption that atomic bombs will not be used is undiluted nonsense. That war will mean the end of civilization; at least, what will be left will not be of much consequence. Ten to thirty years (continue the practical and not without reason) is a hopelessly short time in which to convert this country, let alone the world, to pacifism; thus pacifism is dismissed. The only hope is in supporting the United Nations Organization. But is it?

SUPPORT for UNO resolves itself into resolving the conflict between USA, USSR and Great Britain. How on earth can we do that?

The conflict between the Big Three is based on suspicion and fear, both products of our out-worn diplomatic methods and stupid military requirements. The only hope of breaking this vicious circle is by some imaginative "jump in the dark" such as one of the Big Three renouncing war and revolutionizing international relationships by introducing a new morality.

We might induce Great Britain to take this step if we could convince the public, scrap the present diplomatic service and inject commonsense into

the politicians. (The last is probably the most difficult.) That this cannot be done by ordinary propaganda methods is obvious; but speed is the prerequisite of whatever policy is adopted—long and short term policies are now one. We are faced with reversing or creating the values of the ordinary man—and the extraordinary as well. This can only be done by attacking at the top. However, much we, in our democratic fervour, deny that values are created by artists, intellectuals and scientists we must recognize that unless we can harness them to our campaign we shall fail. Our newspapermen, despite their hardened attitude and seeming independence, are tremendously impressed by those people who can really think. Given enough activity at the top we shall soon have a good deal at the bottom.

WITHIN the next ten years everybody with a modicum of common sense must endeavour to get the people of this country to support the renunciation of war (whether they are pacifists right "up to the hilt" is irrelevant). Admittedly the reaction of America and Russia might be to gobble up the British Empire, in fact, disrespectsfully refuse to notice any difference—but gamble we must, and to one pacifist this seems the best bet.

In the activity suggested support for UNO has no part. UNO is based on force, a foundation that feeds the fears of the suspicious. The hope is through the renunciation of war by one of the Big Three. (The other 48 hardly matter.) It is our task to make Great Britain that one.

CAMPBELL WILKIE

Child of the times

ALL pacifists desire to help children of all nationalities who are in any way the victims of war. May I, a CO hospital worker, draw the attention of your readers to the case of Mary, now aged eight months, who needs protection, not against hunger, cold, or disease, but against racial prejudice and its probable effect upon her prospects of a full and happy life.

Her father was an American soldier of partly Japanese extraction. She was abandoned by her mother, a woman with legitimate children and a husband since demobilized, and is being cared for by a County Council in one of their hospitals.

Mary is a most lovable, healthy and contented baby. She has an attractive "English" complexion, but her hair and features are distinctly "Asiatic" in appearance. All the staff and patients of the hospital are kind to her, but except for myself are solidly of the opinion that no-one will adopt her because of racial prejudice. In fact at least one couple have "turned her down" for no other reason.

My wife and I are not in a position to adopt her, although we have appointed ourselves "aunt and uncle". If, therefore, any pacifist or internationalist couple are desirous of adopting a child, would they consider Mary? By adopting her they would acquire a delightful little daughter as well as striking a blow against racial prejudice and saving an innocent child from its effects.

ROY WARMAN.

50 Grange Road,
Cambridge.**Taints—past & present**

I CAN'T understand why you allow Fritz Kuster so much of your valuable space to advocate a persecution of Nazis, especially as he classifies as Nazis those who were not members of the party but were Nazi-minded, which must come near to including most of the nation.

Germany's hope for the future is to forge out of her sufferings and degradation a political ideal which may revive the now obsolete teachings of Christ; her incapacity in ordinary politics may give her the chance in another direction. To swing over from inhuman Nazism to inhuman anti-Nazism, which Russia wants her to do, is just to sell her soul to the devil for a second time.

However much Fritz Kuster may have suffered he should remember that forgiveness is greater than hatred. Nobody wants favours

CORRESPONDENTS' PAGE**Peace through joy**

I WAS particularly glad to see the original letter under this heading from a fellow reader. It has for long been my own belief that, were the majority of people capable of experiencing more positive joy in living, the mass of morbid, irritable and aggressive emotion which finds outlet in wartime might be less susceptible to mobilisation.

To S. J. Hayward I would suggest that sacrifice when consciously "suffered" as such is seldom healthy. In behaviour prompted by loving devotion or by generous impulse a sense of sacrifice is rarely uppermost.

We should, I think, deeply question the typically ascetic doctrine—whether Gandhi's or anybody's—that deliberate and avoidable self-sought suffering is either a measure or an instrument of what we please to call "progress." The only true creative force is Joy, which may, as Blake saw, entwine with Woe, but always transcends it.

For woe is temporal while joy is of eternity. Joy is the energizer. The Nazis knew what they were doing when they inculcated "Strength through Joy." We should do the same, only let it be strength for peace. The seed of joy is love and its flowering is beauty. All these together mean goodness. The good life is the enjoyed life. Good relationships are rooted in the sharing of "winged joys," as they fly. Looking back on life, it is only what has been enjoyed that essentially matters.

The sooner "Peace through Joy" becomes the universal pacifist password the better for our chances of averting that atom bomb.

DION BYNGHAM.

I T IS, I believe, a most serious error to equate Joy and Sacrifice. As Mr. Hayward says, Sacrifice implies suffering.

Joy is a good thing; and Sacrifice is a good thing, in its place, but that does not mean that they are to be equated. A person who says he enjoys sacrificing himself is, to my mind, either being hypocritical, or else mistaking another feeling for Joy.

Sacrifice is an exceptional relationship, necessitated by suffering, and implying suffering on both sides. This suffering is the consequence of a normal relationship of war.

To make sacrifice into a normal relationship equally makes war into a normal relationship, and reveals a failure to comprehend the truth which I believe could be found in the O.T.) that God does not delight in suffering and sacrifice.

Moreover, and this was the point of my previous letter, sacrifice unaccompanied by love makes hatred deeper until one day it erupts in malice. This fact and also the unforceable nature of Love are the facts which, in my opinion, Pacifists do not face. Demanding a world of peace, they fail to see the contradiction of forcing themselves.

The relation of Joy and Peace is hard to understand, or it would not be possible to suggest that Christianity is a religion of joy.

It is true to say that Joy lies through Peace only if we conceive such Peace as a total mode of relationship, and admit that today the total mode of relationship is War. Friendship is War, Love is War, Marriage is War, Business is War, Peace is War, Parties are War, and the Law and Armed Conflict are merely War carried on by other means.

Even if we admit this, still Joy does not consist in Peace.

Peace also lies through Joy, because the only adequate incentive to peace is that it is the condition of Joy. Dislike of War is an incentive which, as history shews, is dominant in only a minority.

The great Christian thinkers, of whom I am a fervent admirer, did not, I believe, claim that Christianity brought Joy. I do not believe that St. Augustine, when he heard the "Tolle Lege" knew otherwise than that he was leaving behind for ever all hope of earthly bliss.

Christianity can bring, and has brought, the peace that passes all understanding, but not the Joy that passes all understanding. If it had, Heaven would be an unnecessary hypothesis.

Joy is something else. Listen rather to those who have died for it. Keats, with his "Joy with his hands at his lips ever bidding adieu." Katherine Mansfield: "Love must be divine today, as well as human today."

D. H. Lawrence in "The Crown": where the Unicorn is surely Peace, and the Lion is surely Joy. Joy and Peace, which must ever be related and never be equated.

You can get Joy through War, and that is Damnation; and you can get Peace through Sacrifice, and that is Desolation, but the Crown is the mysterious equipoise of Peace and Joy.

The Crown, too, is Love, absurdly and obstinately as Lawrence denied it.

L. E. H.
9 Darlington Road, Hartburn,
Stockton-on-Tees.

ROY SHERWOOD is over-optimistic when he tells us that "we shall not commit the error which France committed after the 1914-1918 war and was trying her hardest—until recently—to commit again after this one. That error . . . consists in mistaking the fact of being on the winning side in a war won mainly by the power and resources of others, for plain victory—for victory self-won."

The British Press abounds in self-esteem, of which a typical example comes from The Times Correspondent at Berne (Feb. 24), who tells us that "the Swiss people fully realize that their own freedom was part of the stake fought for at Alamein, and that Lord Montgomery was the man who saved it."

Setting aside the little fact that

Switzerland was quite untouched during the war (apart from Anglo-American bombs!), the idea conveyed—that Alamein was the turning-point of the war—is quite fallacious. The North African Campaign was only a subsidiary to the mighty struggle in progress round Stalingrad. The reason why so much is made of Alamein is that it was practically the one and only occasion when British forces gained a "self-won victory"; and even so Alamein was decisive simply because the American invasion of French North Africa made Rommel's position untenable.

Alamein has to be set against a list of British reverses including such names as Dunkirk, Tobruk, Dieppe, Singapore and Arnhem. The main burden of the invasion of Western Europe was borne by the Americans. Of the outlying German strongholds: Crete was reconquered piecemeal by Cretan partisans; Norway and even the Channel Islands remained firmly in German hands until the very end of the war. And let it never be forgotten that but for the Soviet onslaught upon Eastern Europe and the consequent diversion of German forces to meet it, "D-Day" would never have become a reality.

It is surely no disparagement of our soldiers individually to point out the self-evident fact that Britain played a comparatively minor role in the war on land; while at sea she possessed a superiority of strength that was merely heightened by the help of the US Navy and shipyards.

The fact that Britain is being left to mount guard over Western Europe has given our propagandists an opportunity to appropriate the honour and glory of the victory as a British monopoly. Such wilful distortions of the truth can do Britain's reputation no good abroad and may do grievous harm at home by its false assumption of non-existent strength.

E. W. P. VEALE.

73 The Vale, N.W.11.

Market for books—

QUAKER relief workers in Germany remind us constantly of the book and pamphlet famine in that country and of the hunger of proved democratic Germans for good literature in English, German or other languages. There is a special need for war-time and current numbers of periodicals and for books of a political, economic, philosophical and religious character written since 1933, but classics and recent biography, travel books, plays and novels would be very acceptable.

The Germany Group of the Friends Service Council appeals to readers of Peace News to help them in their efforts to assuage this need by forwarding literature marked "Books for Germany" to this address.

JOAN MARY FRY.

Friends House,
London, N.W.1.**—or books for market**

IN the hope of raising a sum of money for the relief of child victims of the war, I am organizing a sale of books. Mr. Hodgson, of Chancery Lane, has very kindly promised to conduct the auction and I am now engaged in collecting suitable books for sale. I have principally in mind two categories—first editions of scarce books and volumes autographed by their authors.

The proceeds of the sale will be divided between two societies—the Save the Children Fund (which deals with all children without regard to race or creed), and the Children and Youth Aliyah (which concentrates on Jewish children).

If any of your readers can help by offering gifts for the sale I shall indeed be grateful. Gifts should be addressed to me c/o The Save the Children Fund, 20 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

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MORE OFFERS

THE Committee continues to do all that is possible to maintain and develop concern about the food situation in Europe, especially in the face of the recent catastrophic cuts in the rations in Germany. A private conference arranged by "Save Europe Now" has urged an intensive campaign for the purpose of securing that the further cut threatened to the ration of the normal consumer in the British zone is averted and the food level restored to at least 1,550 calories.

The campaign will revive the original request for offers from individuals who are prepared to surrender some of their own food. It will also by means of large and small meetings, posters, etc., try to arouse public opinion to the grim realities and consequences of the present situation.

I.I. hopes to take a full share in this campaign and would urge every group to renewed activities. Can your group obtain further offers from individuals? Postcards offering to submit to a cut in rations or surrender points should be sent to S.E.N., 14 Henrietta St., W.C.1. Have you had a meeting in your town yet? If not, why not? We will gladly help to supply speakers. Such meetings should, of course, be held in co-operation with as many local churches and organizations as possible.

The I.I. Committee has just issued a new leaflet "Facts About Food in Germany." A specimen will be enclosed with the next group letter and we await large orders from groups for wide distribution. In the meantime we would remind groups of the opportunity of sending blankets, clothes, mending material and certain other commodities as mentioned in recent group letters and Peace News. There has been a good response from individuals desiring to put into touch with members of relief teams working in Germany, to whom certain contributions in kind can be sent. It is an economy if parcels can be sent direct to Germany and not through this office and Gwyneth Anderson will be very glad to send names and addresses either of relief teams working in Germany or of the organizations who can deal with clothes if application is made to her at Dick Sheppard House.

In regard to world affairs in general the Committee is recommending the Executive to affiliate with the British Centre Against Imperialism in its revised form. Agreement has been reached in Committee on a memorandum.

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

andum which is to form the background of any continuation of the Crusade for a Peoples' Peace and a poster has been designed and approved for use in this connection. Special leaflets and pamphlets are also planned to deal with specific subjects.

At the moment, however, it was felt necessary to await the report of the Basis of Membership Committee and any decision on this fundamental document which National Council or A.G.M. may want to make. The I.I. Committee is therefore laying all its plans in the hope that it will be possible to go forward from A.G.M. with the renewed campaign which will give a fresh opportunity to the PPU to express its basic unity and call out the latent enthusiasm of groups and members.

STUART MORRIS.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

BRIGHTON, Labour Club, Sun, Mar. 31, 3 p.m., "Can U.N.O. prevent war?" F. A. Ridley, I.L.P.

CUFFLEY, Cabin Hall, Wed., Mar. 27, 8 p.m., "Will the Peace Last?" Rhys Davies, M.P., Cuffley P.P.U. Public Meeting. Neighbouring groups please support.

GT. HUCKLOW, Derbys, Sat. and Sun., May 4-5, Rhys Davies, M.P., week-end school, South Yorks P.P.U., 10s. 6d. including 5 meals. Applications with 2s. 6d. deposit before Mar. 30 to Eleanor Pease, 28 East Bank Place, Sheffield, 2.

LONDON, W.C.2, Kingsway Hall, Mar. 29, 1.15, "Atomic Energy and International Order," Capt. Raymond Blackburn, M.P., in a series of lunch-hour mtgs. Admission free. National Peace Council.

GT. HUCKLOW, Derbys, Apr. 6 and 7, "Conscription and You," Rosa Rushbridge, Northern Areas P.P.U. Youth Conference. Write Vera Mason, 20 Kennington Rd., Fulwood, Preston, Lancs, before Mar. 28.

ACCOMMODATION

WANTED RENT/buy b.s.c., flat unfurnished, N.W. London outskirts. Would exchange for flat address following—Grubb, 155 Brecknock Rd., N.19.

COUPLE WITH baby requ. holiday accomdn. Aug., Sept., vegetarian. Gadsden, Windyridge, Ashurstwood, East Grinstead, Sussex.

WRITER SEEKS country ctte., to rent unfurnished within 50 miles London. Any size. Accessibility no object. Box 328.

YOUNG LADY (pacifist) requ. furn. accomdn. in London. Box 329. work. Box 332.

"The Whole World One"

THE whole world one, knit together in the bonds and bliss of human friendship and fellowship—such is our ideal, our aim and object as pacifists. But the problem is how to realize the desired unity.

The question immediately arises: is it possible to have real unity where riches and poverty exist cheek by jowl? And the answer of sage experience and sound commonsense to such a query, would seem to be an emphatic "No." The only society within the ambit of our experience in which real unity has been achieved, is in the sphere of the home, and this because of the simple fact that the home life is constituted on a basis of social equality, which gives living and practical expression to the ethic "From each according to his ability to each according to his need." The conclusion, therefore, would seem to be that, the establishment of Society on a basis of Social Equality in the collective life of all nations, and in that larger and all-embracing worldwide community in which all races and peoples and tongues are to find a place, is the supreme factor in the making of the whole world one.

A burning fire

But, however essential it be that society should be organized on the basis of "each for all and all for each" as the true order of social life, to succeed in making the whole world one, it is no less essential, surely, that this ethic must have its roots in the very marrow of our being—be a burning fire in the inmost recesses of our souls.

WHAT is this soul that must go hand in glove with, and be the dynamic centre of our Social Democracies, to produce that unity without and within them, which is essential to make the whole world one? What, surely, but the spirit of Brotherly Love, in other words—the spirit of genuine Christianity, the spirit of that Charity "that envieth not, which is not puffed up, seeketh not her own, beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things—the Love that never faileth."

Without this spirit of brotherly love at the heart of things as their living soul, all our United Nations, our Federations of the World, our Social Democracies, however much on the surface of things they may seem to touch perfection, carry within their bosom the seeds of their ultimate destruction.

"By this we know we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren."

So said St. John the beloved disciple. Spoken to and of individuals, no less true are these words, surely of

the larger collective man which is known as society.

Brotherly love in its fullest implications is the cement—the only cement—that can establish, in any real and enduring sense, the solidarity of the human race. No other motive or spirit has the power to do so.

Carts and chariots

Enlightened self-interest in the last analysis is as impotent as all other self-regarding considerations, for enlightened self-interest is in its essence still selfishness, however much we may disguise the fact by a euphemistic adjective. As such, suffering as it does from an inherent tendency to disrupt, with its eye ever on its own little market-cart, should this be in any way threatened, and the restraints which bind it to the general good be slackened or removed, it will not hesitate to overthrow the chariots of the sun, in order to preserve its own mean little interests.

THE whole world one! This dream of the ages, this great Divine event to which the whole creation moves will be on its way to the social paradise when, led by the spirit of Brotherly Love, we recognize the common humanity and brotherhood of all men and nations, and with that recognition the common frailties and shortcomings that beset us all. When, further, we recognize the family kinship between ourselves and those we call our enemies to be so intimate organic and fundamental that we see them as part of ourselves. Finally, as bearing upon the present situation, when we have forgiven Germany and Japan the atrocious things they are said to have committed, for the simple and all sufficient reason that we ourselves require to be forgiven for our countless sins, offences and shortcomings, individual and collective, both against God and humanity, for these are the things to which brotherly love inevitably commits us. "Brotherly Love," says Emerson, "is the great abolitionist. Older than John Brown, older than the Shenandoah mountains is love, whose other name is justice which was before Alfred, before Lycurgus, before slavery, and will be after it."

JOHN DUNBAR.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
Home: quarterly, 8s. 6d.; yearly, 12s. 6d.
Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 6d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for COs, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

STEPNEY PACIFIST Service Unit requ. men and women workers. Child and family welfare, club and playcentres. Keep and £1 per wk. Opportunities for training. Enquiries to 6/355, The Highway, E.1. or D.S. House.

ADAPTABLE, CAPABLE man or woman, or both, wanted to help in gen. work (including simple cooking) in holiday hse. at Portmaddoc, North Wales. Dame Sybil Thorndike, 98 Swan Cr., Chelsea.

PROGRESSIVE HOME school requ. (1) Teacher for 6-7 yr. old group, (2) Teacher for handicrafts, games, etc., (3) Second Gardner with poultry and boiler maintenance duties. Married couple with or without children considered if both members of staff. Apply: Sec., Elmwoods, Great Missenden, Bucks.

NURSERY AND mkt. gdn. community work scheme requ. man. Non-communal living, wages paid. Sec., 298 Pound Rd., Oldbury, Birmingham.

TWO HELPERS requ'd. for Stone's Bower Fellowship (Old People's Home). Christian community. Only small remuneration can be afforded but great opportunity for useful Christian Service. Apply: Warden, Burton in Lonsdale, via Carnforth.

REQU'D. GIRL with mechanical aptitude to drive van for mkt. gdn. also to do land work. Good wages. Box 331.

WANTED FROEBEL or nursery trained teacher or student willing to help qualified staff. Hurtwood School, Peaslake, Guildford. Tel.: Abinger 119.

ENERGETIC TEACHER wanted Apr. 29, co-ed day-school central Sussex. Box 311.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

YOUNG MAN, 25 yrs., married, 1 child, requ. land work, has 4 months' experience land, provender mill foreman previously. Strong, adaptable, no milking. Rimes, "The Layes," Avening, Glos.

"I know where I'm going"

So should you on

APRIL 27-28

9TH PPU AGM

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6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ATTENDANCES

The General Secretary, PPU, writes: Figures showing the actual and possible attendance at Council meetings of the following Council members were by mistake omitted from the voting paper:

Conbeer, Sydney George, 3-3; Lee, Rev. Richard, 2-3; Le Messurier, Rev. R. H., 2-3; Moore, Humphrey S., 3-3; Morley, John, 3-3; Morris, Stuart, 3-3; Morrison, Sybil, 3-3; Pallister, Minnie, 3-3; Port, Donald, 3-3; Tippett, Michael, 2-3.

LONDON AREA'S NEW HOME

London Area, PPU, have now moved into Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. The old address in Endsleigh Gardens should, therefore, no longer be used by correspondents or callers.

CALLING NO. 469

We are anxious to collect extra copies of our issue No. 469, dated June 8 last, for our files. If you have your own copy handy—in good condition—please send it to us at 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WORDS OF PEACE - No. 165

I choose the term "Peace" for that Harmony of Harmonies which calms destructive turbulence and completes civilization. Thus a society is to be termed civilized whose members participate in the five qualities—Truth, Beauty, Adventure, Art, Peace.

The Peace that is here meant is not the negative conception of anaesthesia. It is a positive feeling which crowns the "life and motion" of the soul. It is hard to define and difficult to speak of. It is not a hope for the future, nor is it an interest in present details. It is a broadening of feeling due to the emergence of some deep metaphysical insight, unverbalized and yet momentous in its co-ordination of values. Its first effect is the removal of the stress of acquisitive feeling arising from the soul's pre-occupation with itself. Thus Peace carries with it a surpassing of personality. There is an inversion of relative values. It is primarily a trust in the efficacy of Beauty. It is a sense that fineness of achievement is as it were a narrow unlocking treasures that the narrow nature of things would keep remote.

—A. N. Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas.

C.O., AGE 32, with 2 yrs.' experience as Assistant Surveyor, seeks employment with Builder or Property Manager. Knowledge building repairs, war damage claims, specifications, etc. Formerly Chartered Accountant's Clerk. Suggestions please to C.B.C.O., Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

ISOLATED LANDWORKER with wife and child seeks job in community. Suggestions please to C.B.C.O. as above.

C.O., 5 yrs.' experience, wants work smallholding or mkt. gdn., Sunbury, Shepperton dist., Cox, Shockerwick, Bathaston, Bath.

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MISCELLANEOUS

REGISTERED BUILDER. All C.O. staff. Can now undertake repair work and decorations. Licence necessary if over £10. Satisfaction assured.

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ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Financial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

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Displayed advertisements: Maximum size 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

The choice before Social Democracy

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

gent and peaceful social revolution in itself; which has to be decided by conditions. It is the issue between violence and consent as systems of government. It is 29 years now since the October revolution in Russia: ample time for the theory of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat to be tested by facts. Has it led to the State withering away? On the contrary, it has produced by far the most powerful and most ruthless state in the whole world today. Whatever Russia may have achieved, it has not achieved human emancipation.

This mighty and all-but omnipotent State makes unlimited demands for its own "security." Progressive thought, even in Britain, is so degenerate that it looks upon these exorbitant and illimitable demands as morally justified. Yet it would profess horror if Britain were to demand, for its own security, the right to impose governments which accepted their directives from London, on France, Spain, Denmark, Belgium, Norway and Holland. Yet what right has Russia to security that Britain has not?

Fantastic obstruction

BUT for a government based on free consent, like Britain's, it is in the highest degree unnatural to seek security by subjecting its neighbour countries to its power. Contrariwise, it is natural that Russia's government, being based on systematic violence, should employ this method. Britain can only seek security, without self-stultification, by a voluntary association of its neighbour-nations. If Russia were to do the same it would be compelled to change its internal autocracy.

That situation we may accept, just as we accept the necessity of strong government in Eastern Europe. The situation exists, however regrettable it may be. What cannot be accepted—what is wholly fantastic and preposterous—is that Russia should denounce and prevent every effort at a closer voluntary association of the Western nations.

French trojan horse

THIS says Russia, would be a *bloc* "against Russia." Is not the compact system of Russian satellite states in the East a *bloc* against the West? That already exists; the Western association does not. And whereas it is unthinkable that a free association of the Western nations should engage in aggressive war against Russia, the reverse is not unthinkable. Nevertheless, the free association of the Western nations (which would be an association of Social Democracies) is going to be very difficult to achieve. Britain is anxious for it. It depends upon France. And France is distracted by the presence of a powerful Communist party.

The Communist party of France is potentially the Trojan Horse within the walls of the Western democracies. Now that British opinion is abandoning the idea of a united Germany, and so coming closer to the opinion of France, what will be the attitude of the French Communists? Logically, and in obedience to the Moscow directive, they should support the demand of the German Communists for a united working-class party and a united Germany. But will they?

Need for a clear lead

THE choice before France is crucial: either it must offer the people of Western Germany real partnership in

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C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

ARTHUR WRAGG says:
"I hope the PPU Journal will be both stimulating to, and stimulated by, all the members of the movement...."

Place your order now with your local group, or send 3s. 9d. (postal subscription to December, 1946) to P.N., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PPU JOURNAL

Social Democracy; or it must go Communist and become the (eventually junior) partner of a Communist and united Germany. That will be the death-blow to the idea of an association of Social Democracies in Western Europe.

But it will hardly be averted unless the British government takes a clear political initiative and puts forward a plan for the integration of Western Germany in a democratic Western association. Unless Britain can think as clearly and positively on behalf of Social Democracy as Russia does on behalf of Communism, Western Europe will disintegrate. For Communism will not triumph in Western Europe without civil war—and such a civil war as will develop into international war.

Did you see?

The British medical authorities in Berlin are alarmed at the increase of typhus in the city. Cases reported have increased from 45 in November last to 178 in January.

* * * * *
Britain and Poland have concluded an agreement for the removal of 12 million Germans from post-war Poland into the British zone of occupation: 9,000 a day for a period of six months.

* * * * *
USA undertook to deliver 300 million pounds of meat to UNRRA in the first three months of 1946. Up to the end of February UNRRA had received only 3.1 per cent. of the quota. Of 1,200,000 tons of wheat promised only 600,000 tons had been delivered.

* * * * *
"Save Europe Now" has its counterpart in USA: "Food for Freedom." The President is ex-Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts.

* * * * *
Not since the allied victory in Europe (says Time) has Francisco Franco seemed so confident and cocky. The bitter Bevin-Vyshinsky debate at UNO offered new life to his government. British Labourites expressed sympathy for the Spanish Republic, looked with favour on the Monarchy. But Britain's government preferred Franco to a renewal of civil war. Fighting might result in a Communist Republic, an extension of Russia's influence into the Western Mediterranean.

THE NEW PPU ORGAN

IN April the PPU will have its own house journal. "The Journal," to be published from the office of Peace News (4d. monthly: yearly subscription 3s. 9d.), will deal with the internal affairs of the organization, and thus relieve Peace News of the necessity of covering discussions which are of only secondary interest to the general reader. On the other hand it will contain much more detailed information of the activities of groups and areas than Peace News has ever been able to carry. It will also (it is hoped) report on many of the various activities carried on by members in expression of their pacifist faith.

These times are more trying to the soul of the pacifist than the actual period of war. During war the issues are narrowed down: now they have become manifold and complex. The strains on the unity of the movement are multiplied. I hope that members will give a warm welcome and loyal support to the new organ which will witness to and uphold the essential fraternity of our membership.

J. M. M.

LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS

Readers who work near central London may care to know that Patrick Figgis intends to give a series of talks on Christ and Peace at his Thursday lunch-hour (1-2 p.m.) meetings before Easter: Mar. 28, April 4, 11, 18.

It is just two years since these meetings began. There is an encouragingly larger attendance this winter than last. PPU members in London are asked to make the meetings known to a still wider public.

PPU SUMMER SCHOOL

The PPU Summer School this year will be held at Bournemouth, from Aug. 31 to Sept. 7. Please apply to: John Barclay, 64 Ellerton Road, London, S.W.18.

£2,350 from Birmingham

The Birmingham Town Hall meeting on March 1, organized by the local SEN committee—of which the speakers were H. Usborne, MP, Victor Gollancz and Roy Walker, raised £2,350 for the CORSRA appeal.

The committee are arranging conferences of key people in church, educational, political and industrial life of the city.

More facts about food

SIR J. MELLOR asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster what quantities of food have been exported during the last three months from the UK for consumption by Germans; and whether he will now stop the export to Germany of food except for British consumption.

MR. J. HYND: The quantities were some 42,500 tons of potatoes and potato flour, 25,000 tons of barley, 25,000 tons of flour and 250 tons of miscellaneous foodstuffs. Imports of food into the British zone of Germany are not more than sufficient to maintain a bare subsistence standard of nutrition, while making the fullest use of indigenous supplies. These imports, the cost of which is a first charge on the proceeds of exports of coal and other commodities from Germany, are necessary to prevent disease and unrest and to carry out the purposes of the occupation.

Commons Hansard, Feb. 13.
Note: This answer was given before the general reduction of rations by one-third was announced. The last sentence of the reply should be read against that fact.

Dutch resist Service in Indonesia

THE WRI state that a committee has been formed in Amsterdam composed of members of pre-war pacifist organisations to help all who for reasons of conscience, whether humanitarian, religious or political, refuse military service in Indonesia.

The Dutch Government plans to send a division of newly conscripted recruits to Indonesia at the end of this summer. N.C.O.'s, officers and specialists from the Army who were serving at the time of the German occupation are also being called up at short notice for the same kind of service.

As the Dutch Constitution expressly forbids troops being sent overseas except with their own consent, the Royal Decree dispensing with this necessity is to be contested in court.

Hundreds of letters are pouring in, both from those who object to all military service and from those, who, though not objecting to conscription and military service in general, do object to their being used as an instrument to restore a system of oppression in Indonesia. So far, objectors who have clearly stated their case have been sent home to await a decision, though as a rule refusal to obey a call to arms has been treated as desertion.

So-called "Defaulter Detention Camps" in New Zealand are to be closed in April, reports the February issue of the CBCO Bulletin.

The announcement followed a demonstration in Auckland calling for release of all military defaulters and suggesting a one-day strike each week until they were out.

'End Conscription' campaign planned

THE No Conscription Council is to launch a nation-wide campaign to end military conscription in Britain.

After a full discussion as to whether the Council should agitate for conscription to be abolished by international agreement, it was felt that the Council's energies could be best directed to an all-out campaign against peacetime conscription in Britain.

The No Conscription Council (Room 16, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2) was formed in June, 1945, to co-ordinate the efforts of various bodies opposed to conscription. The secretary is Charles H. Cole and affiliated organizations include the Peace Pledge Union, Society of Friends, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Independent Labour Party, Freedom Defence Committee, Women's International League, etc., etc.

Is PN in your library?

Of the many groups now approaching their libraries to show PN the latest success is reported from Mitcham, where the Labour majority voted solidly for it.

If every reader wrote to his local librarian expressing a wish to see PN in the Reading Room they would make a useful contribution to the spread of pacifist ideas.

We ask all groups and supporters to make a special "PN in the Libraries" drive within the next two months. Let us know the results; write for help if needed.

What Manchester does to-day . . .

The Bill to release COs from their registration conditions was due in the Commons on Wednesday last, for consideration of the Lords' amendment on the subject of labour controls. If, as appears likely, this is agreed by the Commons, the Bill will become law in a few days afterwards.

MANCHESTER City Council has raised the ban on the employment of COs.

This was carried by 52 votes to 36 at a meeting where feelings ran high, speakers were shouted down and the Lord Mayor was on his feet for several minutes ringing his bell to restore order.

The motion was proposed by Cllr. Harold Quinney who lost his son in the war and who moved an Amendment in favour of COs when the original decision to dismiss and not to employ them in the future was arrived at in July, 1940. "An unhappy decision" was how the Manchester Guardian described it in an editorial at the time.

It is understood that the local British Legion is to press for ex-Servicemen to have preference for jobs every time.

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A report of the House of Commons discussion of March 20th on

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DO YOU SUPPORT FRANCO?

If not, demand the Release of Spanish Republicans imprisoned in England!

PUBLIC MEETING

at
HOLBORN HALL, LONDON
(corner of Theobald's Road and Graye's Inn Road)

Tuesday, March 26th, 7.30 p.m.

Chairman: FENNER BROCKWAY
Speakers include GEORGE ORWELL,
VICTOR GOLLANZ, MRS. E. BRADDOCK, M.P., H. L. HUTCHINSON, M.P.,
and others

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